ان الدين عند الله الاسلام

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The Review of Religions

Editor—A. Q. Niaz, B.A.

Vol. XL, No. 6

June, 1941

QADIAN
Punjab : India

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Annual rates:
India Rs. 4
Foreign 10 shillings
Students Rs. 3

The Review of Religions is an organ of the Ahmadiyya Movement which represents the pure and true Islam. It is open to all for discussing problems connected with the religious and spiritual growth of man, but it does not accept responsibility for views expressed by contributors.

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BOOK DEPOT, QADIAN, Pb., India

Printed at the Ripon Printing Press, Bull Road, Lahore, by Mirza Mohd. Sadiq and published by Sheikh Abdur Rahman Qadiani for Sadar Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya Qadian, Punjab, India

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نحمده ونصلي على رسوله الكريم

ZIKR-I-HABIB

A page from the life of the Holy Prophet Muhammad

It is related that when the Holy Prophet arrived in Medina he lodged with the people of his maternal grandfather, and for sixteen or seventeen months he offered his prayers with his face turned towards the *Bait-al-Moqaddas* (in Jerusalem). Nevertheless, his own inclination in the matter was that his *Qiblah* should be the sacred Ka'ba in Mecca. The first prayer which he offered facing in that direction was the *'asr* prayer one day and many people prayed with him. The prayers over, a man went out and passed by a party of Muslims in a place of worship who were engaged in prayer, in *rukuh*. The man said aloud that he had offered his prayers in company with the Holy Prophet with their faces turned towards the House of God in Mecca. When the party in question heard this they turned round in that direction *immediately*.

The report adds that the Jews and the Christians were pleased when the *Qiblah* was the Bait-al-Moqaddas, but when the change was made they did not like it.

—*Bokhari*.

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Malfoozat-i-Ahmad*

January 25, 1901.

A man asked whether those who did not yield believe to his (the Promised Messiah's) claims were *Kafirs* or not. The Promised Massiah answered: "You should go and ask the *Maulvis* what they think in respect of a man who, at the time of his advent, rejected the claims of the Messiah and Mahdi they were expecting. I myself being that Messiah and Mahdi, the answer to your question would then be obvious.

Interpreting the Quranic verse in regard to Jesus which runs انه لعلم للساعة the Promised Messiah remarked: "Jesus was in fact a forerunner of the Holy Prophet Mohammad who brought the great good news. The word ساعة means the time of some great coming event. In other words the advent of Jesus, son of Mary, among the Israelites was an indication that among them he was the last Prophet of God, and that after him would come the 'Seal of the Prophets.'"

In the same connection Ahmad remarked at another time: "The advent of the Holy Prophet was, in a manner of speaking, a day of resurrection, for through him the dead came to life. Therefore what was said in regard to Hazrat Masih in the words انه لعلم للساعة was indeed very true. People do not realise the extraordinary pre-eminence and majesty of the Holy Prophet, nor have they any adequate idea of the importance of his position."

* Translated from *Malfoozat-i-Ahmad*, published by Sh. Abdul Hamid.

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THE CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE ATTITUDE ON THE QUESTION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

[The following is a translation of a portion of the Friday Sermon delivered by Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II on April 10, 1941. The light it throws on the policy pursued by both the Congress and the Muslim League brings into bold relief the deplorable weakness of both where the right is concerned of every Indian to profess and follow, and preach by peaceful means, any religion that might appeal to him and satisfy the deeper yearnings of his soul. That the two foremost political organisations in India should be unwilling to concede full religious liberty is a grave, disquieting factor of which the possibilities for evil are appalling to contemplate. Moreover, for organisations set up with the sole object of securing freedom, to deny, in the India they are trying to build up, the very first essential of freedom, *i.e.*, religious liberty—involves a most disgraceful contradiction.

Those who desire to see that these political bodies should flourish and be of real use to the cause of India and humanity should, therefore, seriously exert themselves to have this defect removed.—*Ed.*]

I have read in a newspaper to-day some remarks to the effect that the Ahmadies were very strange people because they had spent a good many years in thinking over the question as to whether they should join the Congress or the Muslim League; but that, in spite of the time they had taken over it, they remained as undecided as ever they were: they were still wondering which of the two organisations it would be best for them to join. This correspondent wonders that when the Ahmadies all submit to the will and guidance of their leader, obedience to whom in such matters they consider binding on themselves, then why do they not simply ask his advice in the matter and have done with it!

It appears that this journalist is labouring under a misconception; he seems to be under the impression that this question was raised in the *Majlis-i-*

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Shura without my permission, and regardless of my desire in the matter. This is not the case at all. The question was brought up for consideration while I was myself in the chair: in fact it was raised in compliance with instructions emanating from myself.

Position of Khalifa

This apart, the correspondent in question seems to be labouring under another misconception as well which is still more serious. He appears to think that a leader whose followers deemed implicit obedience to him to be binding upon themselves had no need to consult them in regard to anything. This impression is wholly incorrect. The Ahmadiyya Community owes allegiance to its leader as *Khalifa*, and the Holy Prophet (may peace and the blessings of God be upon him) has left us a permanent and clear instruction that

لا خلافة الا بالمشورة

—*i.e.*, the institution of *Khilafat* ceased to be true to its name if it divested itself of the necessity to consult the people.

No doubt the power is vested in the *Khalifa* to override an opinion tendered to him, but his office does not put him in a position where he need not consult his followers at all. Recognition of the need for consultation, on the other hand, does not imply that any opinion that came to the surface among his followers in the course of deliberation became binding upon the *Khalifa*. The real utility of consultation as conceived by Islam does not lie in bringing to the fore the opinion of a majority: such opinion in many cases might be quite defective as mass opinion often is; this utility lies in the opportunities consultation affords for training the public mind. Its aim is not to bring to light, through the application of many minds, the best course to be followed in a given set of circumstances; its purpose, as it functions in the institution of *Khilafat*, is to educate and train the mind of the public. Otherwise there was no need at all for the Holy Prophet to have had recourse to it for he had the immense advantage of infallible guidance directly from God through Revela-

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tion. But in spite of this great advantage we find that he consulted his followers almost on all problems of national importance Does it surprise this correspondent that a Messenger of God of such pre-eminence as to be the most highly placed among the Apostles of God of all times should frequently be seen consulting his followers on matters which one might expect him to have decided by means of guidance from God, and in regard to which his own decision should have been binding upon his followers in any case !

The pages of history bear ample evidence that on numerous occasions the Holy Prophet invited his followers to express their opinion in regard to the course of action to be followed in a particular emergency. On certain occasions he attached such importance to the opinion tendered to him that he went to the length of acting upon it even though he was aware, through his own maturer judgment or by virtue of Divine Light, that the proposed course was full of hazards. For instance on the eve of the battle of Ohad he saw a vision which he interpreted to imply that the Muslims on this occasion would do well not to go out into the open field to give battle to the enemy; that the safer course for them would be to fight from the shelter of defendable lines in the town of Medina itself. When he came out he said to his companions that he had seen a vision which he understood to mean that they should not go out of the town to offer battle to the enemy for such a course was likely to prove disadvantageous. Some fiery young Muslims submitted, however, that this should not be so; that even before they embraced Islam they had never feared anybody; that now, being endowed with the strength of Truth, they were all the more unwilling to be guided in their actions by fear. They spoke with passionate fervour and begged that the Muslims should fearlessly proceed to give a clear pitched battle in the open field. The Holy Prophet listened attentively and when they had finished he retired into his house to put on arms. Meanwhile the more experienced and maturer companions

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remonstrated with the hot-heads that they should not have shown this blind ardour for an open battle, especially when the Holy Prophet had expressed himself disinclined to that course and had also referred to a vision he had seen which strengthened him in his view. This opened their eyes and they realised that they had been guilty of thoughtless haste on an occasion which demanded cool deliberation. When the Holy Prophet came out arrayed for battle they confessed themselves in the wrong and begged that he should discard their hasty proposal and act upon his original plan for the coming engagement. But the Holy Prophet replied that his decision had been taken, and that a Prophet of God, after once he had put on armour, did not change his mind and return. He then led out the Muslims for battle which, after victory had been won and the enemy routed, took a sudden turn for the worse and the Muslims had to suffer severe casualties before they could shake off the grip which the enemy had managed to obtain.

Evidently, I cannot expect more implicit obedience from my followers than did the Holy Prophet from his Companions, so that, while the Holy Prophet consulted his companions freely, I need not consult my followers at all! The Ahmadiyya Community takes the greatest pride in the fact that we endeavour to follow in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet and his blessed Companions. When the Holy Prophet himself resorted to consultation with his followers so frequently, and when he attached such great importance to opinions tendered to him, as is shown by the above incident, who am I that I should hold myself above the need of ascertaining the views of those who voluntarily submit themselves to my leadership?

It is impossible to gainsay the fact that where the leader of a people ceases to consult them the mind of the public becomes dull and inactive; its faculty to apply itself to the problems confronting the nations dies off slowly and the whole nation becomes like dumb driven cattle which the leader herds up into any pen he likes. This is a grave defect of which the

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injury is far-reaching, and goes very deep; and to avoid it consultation in Islam is held to be indispensable even in the case of a Prophet of God and his *Khalifas*. Should the followers of a *Nabi* simply do as they were told by their Prophet, and by his *Khalifas* after he had passed away, their mental faculties would be frozen up and their intellectual growth would suffer enormously. That is why even in the case of a *Nabi* and his *Khalifas* Islam enjoins consultation as indespensable, although it gives to both an absolute right of veto to be exercised at discretion in cases where the opinion tendered ran in any way counter to the spirit of Islam or where its disadvantage outweighed all other considerations. Submission to a *Khalifa*, obedience to whom was deemed binding, should not, and does not, imply that his followers should never discuss any question among themselves—that they should simply behave like automatons directed by the will of the *Khalifa*. Nor does it mean that the *Khalifa* is free to dispense with consultation altogether. Free consultation on the point of problems confronting them is the best means for promoting the mental development of a people, and as such it has an important place in the political structure envisaged by Islam.

Difference between a Nabi and a Dictator

In fact, herein lies the difference between a Prophet of God or his *Khalifa* and a modern "Dictator". These Dictators resent independent thinking in their people to such an extent that without scruple they try to trample it out altogether. The Prophets of God and their Successors on the other hand never missed a chance of exploiting to the full every opportunity for developing the mental faculties of their followers and promoting independent thinking among them. They always had it in their power to order their followers to do this or not to do that; but, although fully competent to issue such arbitrary orders, they aimed at carrying the people with them: in every emergency they called in their followers for consultation and promoted

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intellectual growth thereby. They trained them to think for themselves, pointing out to them their errors of judgment as they arose.

The Islamic political system affords thus a matchless practical school for training the general body-politic in the essential task of applying its mind to the needs and problems of the moment, and it is impossible to overestimate the value of this great Islamic blessing.

The Ahmadiyya Community is living under a non-Muslim government where the fixing of public holidays rests in the hands of the administration. Handicapped by this circumstance we call up our followers for consultation only once a year, at a tlme when the number and season of public holidays fixed by the government allow us to put them to this use. But a single session during a whole year can not suffice for our needs. Our followers, however, are drawn from all the walks of life and they are mostly unable to be away from their affairs except during public holidays. We can not, therefore, hold as many and as frequent sessions of the *Majlis-i-Mushawarat* as we wish to. If we had the holidays and other necessary facilities to call the *Majlis* once every month—or, preferably, twice a month—our activities would gain much more in life and prosper much better. Moreover, the intellectual development of the community could also thereby be proportionately accelerated.

Thus, whereas the correspondent in question and others like him fail to see the need and are surprised why we hold any consultation at all, our regret is that circumstances do not allow us to consult our followers more frequently.

Similarly this journalist seems to labour under another misapprehension, though in regard to this second matter the fault, it seems, is not entirely his, for the Ahmadiyya press did not make the point quite clear and room was left for this misunderstanding. The journalist seems to think that the Ahmadiyya Com-

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munity had under consideration the question whether, *as a body*, it should join the Congress or the Muslim League. In point of fact, however, this was not the question at all. But having started with this wrong assumption the journalist wonders whether it is possible for the *Khalifa* of the Ahmadiyya Community, as such, to accept the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. His surprise in this regard is justified: the *Khalifa* of the Ahmadiyya Community, in that capacity, could not accept the leadership of either Mr. Gandhi or any one else. This sacred office puts the *Khalifa* in a position where it is his duty to give the right lead to others: it is not for him to divest himself of this sacred obligation; he can not surrender this position and begin to follow others: and a day shall come when the rest of the world would be forced by circumstances to recognise freely that the only way out of the accumulating difficulties on all sides is to accept the lead of the *Khalifa* appointed by God.

This apart, however, although some members of the Community also fell into this misapprehension to some extent, the question before the *Majlis-i-Mashawarat* this year was not which of the two premier political organisations of the country the Ahmadiyya Community should join *as a body*. We are a religious Community and as such it is not open to us to merge ourselves into any political organisation without being false to that primary object for which the Community was founded. This would be a position which we could never wish to contemplate. We could not tolerate any suggestion of the kind. In regard to political matters all that was permissible for us to do was that members of the Community, *i.e.*, those who felt so inclined—in their individual capacity could join some political organisation of which the spirit and aim and the programme did not clash with those of Ahmadiyyat.

This was as far as any Ahmady could go in politics; he could not go any further: the Ahmadiyya Community, as a body, *en-bloc*, could never think of joining any political organisation.

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It should not be forgotten, moreover, that this question of joining the Congress or the Muslim League has been before the Ahmadiyya Community now for some years, and the need for raising this question arose from the fact that it occurred to some young members of the Community, who take some interest in politics, that they should participate in the political development of the country and for this purpose accept membership of some political organisation. They thought over the question in their own individual ways and some came to the conclusion that for this purpose it would be best to join the Muslim League, while some thought they should join the Congress. Being first and last a religious Community it did not concern us much which of these two bodies such Ahmadies joined in their individual capacities, but even then there was one question which we could not ignore—the question, namely, whether there was anything in the Congress or the Muslim League which, being in conflict with either the spirit or aims of the Community, made it impossible for any Ahmady to join them. For, in case there was any such thing in the Congress or the Muslim League, we had the right to warn members of the Community not to join these bodies.

In order to make the best and the fullest use of this right, which unquestionably is vested in us, we desired this question to be raised in the *Majlis-i-Shura* so that the fullest possible light could be turned on all its aspects, enabling us in the end to advise members of the Community as to which organisation they could join without prejudice to their duties as Ahmadies and which organisation they could not join without such prejudice.

I remember when Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India, sometime ago, came to this country, a very big *zamindar* was included in the deputation which waited on him on behalf of the Ahmadiyya Community. The Punjab *zamindars*, too, dicided to send a deputation on the occasion and they expressed a desire to include this Ahmady *zamindar* in their

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deputation for he had a distinguished record of military service. This gentleman, though illiterate, was a very devout Adhmady of ripe experience and sound commonsense. When he was approached by his *zamindar* friends he replied that he could not go in their deputation without obtaining permission from me. So the secretary of this body, who is now a very prominent public man in the province, came to me with a request that I should allow this Admady gentleman to be included in their deputation. I said that I had no objection except for the fact that the memorandums presented by them and by the Ahmadiyya deputation might turn out to differ materially on some points or even contradict each other, in which case the Secretary of State would naturally wonder that this gentleman had not scrupled to indentify himself with two conflicting points of view. I suggested therefore that a possible way out of the difficulty was that if he could see his way to letting me have a look at their memorandum, he should allow me to go through it; if its purport, in part or whole, did not run counter to the Ahmadiyya memorandum, I said, I would allow the Ahmady in question to go in their deputation. On reading this memorandum I noticed, in regard to one or two things, that it was not quite in agreement with ours, but when he offered to make the necessary alterations I gladly permitted our Ahmady *zamindar* to proceed in their deputation as well.

Religious Freedom

No reasonable Ahmady could wish to join an organisation of which the spirit and the aims went counter to the purpose of the Ahmadiyya Movement. In the circumstances, therefore, it was indispensable that we should ascertain precisely the policy of the two organisations in question. If we saw reason to believe that there was nothing in them which an Ahmady could take exception to on the ground of its being in conflict with Islam, were could say to our members that they were free to join either. On the

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other hand, if were found the aims of one body agreeable to the spirit of our movement and those of the other contrary, we could advise the Ahmadies to join the one and not to join the other. Or, if we found them both in conflict with the aims of Ahmadiyyat, we could advise them to join neither.

With this object in view when we made the necessary inquiries, *staggering aspects of the policy of both in regard to a matter of the most fundamental importance came to light.*

First let me take the Muslim League. Sometime ago the Parliamentary Committee of the Punjab Muslim League ruled that no Ahmady could be accepted as a member of the Muslim League. Moreover it took a pledge from all candidates seeking election to the Punjab legislature on the League ticket that if they were elected they would use their influence to get the House to enact that the Amhadies were not Muslims and that for purposes of the House they should not be looked upon as such. As long as the Punjab Muslim League maintains this attitude and the central office does not condemn it, and over-rule it in clear words, it is impossible for any self-respecting Ahmady to wish to join it.

Similarly we sought an assurance from the Congress that under a Congress Government there would be complete religious liberty ; that a Hindu, for instance, or a Christian, or a Sikh, who desired to forsake his former religion and to embrace Islam would be entirely free to do so. These were the two fundamental questions which we requested the Muslim League and the Congress repectively to clear, and no reasonable person would question that in view of the attitude we had experienced from both the assurance we sought was not justified or was not necessary. Our motive in taking up these matters in correspondence with the League and the Congress High Command was no more than a simple straight-forward desire to know the plain truth in regard to their policy on a point which to us as a religious body is the

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most vital consideration—namely unfettered freedom to profess and preach by peaceful means any religion—or to change it, if necessary, according to one's lights. If the Congress had assured us that it did not contemplate any restrictions on religious liberty, and if the Muslim League too had over-ruled the view adopted by its Punjab branch in regard to us, and had held beyond the possibility of a loophole for doubt that, as far as entry into the League to work for the common goal of Indian Muslims was concerned, the Ahmadies stood in the same position as any other Muslim denomination, we could have advised the Ahmadies that in their individual capacities, they could, without any misgiving, join, according to their prediletions, either the Congress or the Muslim League—subject to the condition that they would not do anything that might run counter to the principles of Ahmadiyyat. But at same time I knew, too, that if the Congress and the League failed to give the necessary assurance, both would stand fully exposed and self-condemned in the eyes of all Ahmadies and every Indian who attached any importance to religious freedom in a self-governing India.

I might also add that from what I knew of the inner mind of the Congress and the League I felt that neither would give the assurance we sought, and unfortunately for India my judgment in this regard has been fully borne out by facts. Our correspondence with the Congress on this point has now dragged on for three years, *but even now that body is not prepared to commit itself that a Congress Government would not seek to impose restrictions upon the right to change one's religion according to one's lights.* They only keep repeating that we should see the resolution of the Congress relevant to the matter. We begged that they had framed this resoultion and that they, consequently, were best qualified to interpret it : were they prepared to say that the wording employed in this clause embraced the recongnition of this right as well ? To this question we received the enigmatic reply that the resolution was before us, and that beyond this the Congress

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office had not the authority to say anything. Again we begged the Secretary of the Congress that, if he had not the power to give the official interpretation of the resolution in question, he might obtain clarification from the competent source. But all our entreaties have been in vain. The Secretary by himself was not in a position to give the official interpretation ; he would not give an intelligible answer to our plain and simple question ; and he saw no reason to put the matter up for consideration before the Congress !

Now let us return to the Muslim League. We submitted to the central League office that one of its provincial branches had ruled that it was not prepared to count us as Muslims even in the political sense, and that this decision of the Punjab Muslim League should be set aside ; but we were told that as this position obtained only in one province there was no need for any action. We then submitted that as long as this ruling of the Punjab League was allowed to stand and hold valid in one province, how could the Ahmadies feel satisfied that tomorrow some or all other provinces will not follow the example set by the Punjab. On this ground we begged the central authorities of the League to give an unambiguous ruling that for purposes of the Muslim League anyone who claimed to be a Muslim shall be regarded by it as such and that the League would not seek to impose any disability upon any Muslim on the basis of denominational differences. To this we received the amazing reply that the exigencies of the present situation did not permit such a ruling.

The implication of this attitude is quite evident. In plain words, the League wishes to utilise our energy and resources for its own purposes but desires to remain absolutely free to disown us and cast us aside whenever it might like to do so, or whenever that course is urged upon it by any section of its public.

In short the attitude of the two premier political bodies leaves no ground for doubt that in the self-governing India they contemplate, each in its place

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has it in mind to impose restrictions of one kind or another upon religious liberty. Unwillingness on the part of the Congress to commit itself in regard to the freedom to profess, *to preach* and to *change* one's religion according to one's lights cannot possibly have any other meaning. The consideration seems to have weight with the Congress that should the *tabligh* of religion be allowed to play its part freely, only the Muslims stood to gain by this freedom for no Muslim was likely to go over to Hinduism, while any number of Hindus might renounce the Vedic religion and go over to Islam. This is the reason why they fight shy of an undertaking that they would not want to restrict religious freedom in any way, and as long as the Congress does not clear its policy in the matter beyond any shadow of doubt, no Ahmady would want to consider joining its ranks.

Similarly, so long as the leaders of the Muslim League refrain from issuing a clear official statement that for purposes of the League the Ahmadies too were regarded by it as Muslims, and that as long as anyone claimed to be a Muslim he would be regarded by it as a Muslim, no Ahmady could entertain the question whether he should join the League or not. For, in the circumstances, we are justified to hold that the ground advanced by the League for its unwillingness to issue the required statement is no more than a lame excuse meant to screen its desire to shelve our question. The exigencies of the moment referred to by the League can mean only one thing : that in the judgment of the League the major portion of the Muslim masses is not likely to welcome such a statement, and the central authorities of the League deem it expedient to bow before this public tendency. But in that case the honest course for the central authorities is that they should not expect us to become members ; it is unworthy to want to have us under cover of the present ambiguity but desire to preserve freedom to cast us aside the moment any demagogue raises a clamour against us. If the League expects a popular clamour against us should we join its ranks,

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and contemplates disowning us as soon as that eventuality materialises, we had, evidently, better not join the League at all.

I realise that possibly some of the League leaders at the centre do not agree with the common view of the Muslim masses in this respect and personally they would like to have the Ahmadies as members of the League but in view of the general tendency can not do so. If this is the case, however, they should say so publicly, so that we should know where we stand. To keep us in doubt but meanwhile desire the benefit of our resources is not fair.

In short, religious liberty is not contemplated by either the Muslim League or the Congress in the free India these bodies visualise respectively. Our patient correspondence with them both has left no room for doubt on the point, and the question whether the Ahmadies should join them or not is automatically answered. As long as they do not change their attitude in this vital matter they have no right to expect us to solicit membership, and the responsibility for leaving us out rests upon their shoulders.

I have explained this matter at some length because I perceived that even some members of the Community seemed to be under the erroneous impression that the question under consideration was which of these two organisations the Ahmadiyya Community should join as a body. This was was not the question at all. We are a religious, not a political body : our programme can never be identical with that of the Congress or the League, or that of any other political body of which the sole interest was politics. A community could join, *en-bloc*, another organisation only when the aims of the two were wholly identical. In the aims of the Ahmadiyya Community and the aim of the Congress or the League, however, there is a whole world of difference. Our main purpose is *tabligh*—to carry the message of Islam to the non-Muslims, and to strive that Muslims the world over should become *real* Muslims. The Congress has no

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interest in this programme ; and the League, while perhaps in sympathy to some extent with this purpose, has far different interests which form its immediate, absorbing concern. Then how can the Ahmadies, as a body, join either.

The question before us was only the question of the advisability or otherwrise of an Ahmady *in his individual capacity* joining a political organisation. After protracted negotiations extending over three years it has become evident that the Congress is not prepared to include religious liberty in its idea of Freedom, for in the Congress India it does not contemplate this liberty as the right of every Indian. In regard to the Muslim League too it has become clear that its High Command lacks the back-bone to make a just stand against a popular clamour. So long as the League continues to suffer from this weakness, it shall continue to remain unfit for the work of real reform which is not always popular and taxes one's patience and perseverance to the utmost. The starting point of the Muslim League's endeavours to secure the political rights of the Indian Muslims should be the principle that in the sphere of politics all who claimed to profess Islam and held the Islamic Shar'ia to be valid, would be regarded as Muslims. The answers this body has given to our legitimate inquiries are still in our possession, and this correspondence shall be put before the public in case the situation demands it. The whole world then shall see for itself that the League throughout has striven to avoid the necessity of giving a plain answer to a simple question which we had every right to ask before we joined its ranks.

And not only that. This correspondence also bears out that among the League officials at the centre there exists an element that is also extremely rude.

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THE TROUBLE IN IRAQ

[Talk Broadcast from Lahore by Amir-ul-Momineen Hazrat Khalifat-ul-Masih——Ed.]

The present unfortunate rising in Iraq is naturally causing deep anxiety to Muslims all over the world, including the Muslims in India, Baghdad, which is the Capital of this country, Basra, its main port, and Mosul, the centre of its oil wells, are names with which a Muslim becomes familiar from early childhood. The Abbaside period, with its great scientific and cultural achievements, is naturally treasured by the Muslims as a proud and pleasant memory; but *Alif Laila*, which book is the best friend of children interested in the study of Arabic literature, has invested these ancient towns with a glamour all their own. The moment they close their eyes and give their imagination a little play, the thoroughfares of Baghdad, the lanes of Basra and the *carvan sarais* of Mosul stand before them, so vivid and lifelike as though all their lives they had lived among those scenes.

Speaking of myself personally, I can say that in the days of my childhood Baghdad and Basra had far more attraction for me than London and Paris; for, while the latter two were hardly more to me at that time than a couple of geographical names imprisoned in the cells of my brain, the former on the wings of my imagination seemed to float all over the world. The bond which sprang from the delight which tales about these cities gave to us when we were children, deepened when on growing to maturity we learnt of the great Imams in the realms of *Hadith* and *Fiqha*—Ahmad bin Hambal, Abu Hanifa and Abu Yusuf, of the great Sufis—Jonaid and Shibli and Syed Abdul Qadir Gilani, and of a host of great scholars, historians, men of letters, statesmen and great

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kings—like Abdur Rahman ibni Qayyam, Nizam-ud-Din Tusi, Seibveh, Jarer, Farazdaq, the great Harun-al-Rashid and his equally illustrious son, Mamun. These are the gems produced by Iraq which still inspire our minds and fire of our imagination.

When scenes and places associated with such treasured memories of a glorious past, became the scene of a most ill advised political disturbance, how could the Muslims help feeling deep stabs of pain over it! When the sacred mausoleums over the remains of these heroes, doubly sacred to us because we are bound to them by spiritual ties as well, became exposed to the terrible destruction of a modern total war, how could we remain unconcerned!

Iraq contains the sacred places of both the *Sunni* and the *Shi'ah* Muslims; moreover this country is situated in the very heart of the Muslim world, its prosperity and peace therefore is the heart's desire of every Muslim. But this dear land now lies exposed to the horrors of a war of which the devastation in other lands wrung our hearts even when there was no special tie between us and its victims. In the face of this peril the Muslims cannot remain silent; and, indeed, they are not silent over it. All over the world they are giving expression to the deep anxiety knawing at their hearts, and their apprehensions over this unfortunate situation are fully justified. For the war in which a decision had so far been expected in the African Sahara and in the waters of the Mediterranean shall have to be fought out now on fields where the ebb and tide of battle would flow in no man's land over Muslim homes. Our mosques and the courtyards of our dwelling houses would now form the redoubts over which the war shall pour out all its fury.

It is painful to reflect that, but for a deplorable lack of foresight on the part of a few Iraqi leaders, it need not have been so. It is unfortunate that these leaders, ere they decided to raise this revolt, did not pause to take note of the fact that in the case of all those countries which Germany had so far overrun she

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had not given freedom to any; that she had only clamped down her own irons on them and was holding them down. If Sheikh Rashid Ali Gilani and his friends had not joined hands with Germany, the danger to the Muslim world need not have arisen.

In consequence of this revolt Turkey has been encircled; the war has been brought to the very door-steps of Iran; and as for Syria, that country now lies in the direct line of the conflict; while, at the rate the storm moves, Afghanistan is not far out of its reach. The greatest danger, thus, lies in the fact that the furies of war are now hovering on the very borders of places which to us are dearer far than our own native lands, our lives and our honour. Our sacred places which are guarded by no ramparts—which, as far as material means are concerned, have no defence at all, are now fully exposed to the danger. Those slender walls to which cling our hearts with inexpressible love, no matter where we are, now lie in the reach of dive-bombers and high explosive missiles of which a single hit can shatter rock-like fortifications to the ground.

All this has come to pass through a mistake on the part of a few of our own brothers; for, before trouble broke out in Iraq the war front was hundreds of miles away from these places. In these circumstances it is the duty of each single Muslim to try to nip the mischief while it is still in the bud. There is still a chance for us to push back the theatre of war ere it has had time to develope fully, for German and Italian forces have not so far penetrated into Iraq in any great strength. Should the enemy succeed in gaining a surer foothold, our task would not be so easy, and the flames of war in one big leap would then spread all over the Arabian desert.

This mischief cannot be adequately fought merely by heaping abuse on Sheikh Rashid Ali and the Mufti of Jerusalem: we cannot put out this fire by simply calling them traitors. I am not acquainted with Sheikh Rashid but I know the Mufti personally. As far as I can see he is sincere in his purpose, and he is

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actuated by good motives. The explanation of his hostility towards Britain should not be looked for in the supposition that he has been bought over by Germany. His opposition springs from the fact that he thinks that the undertakings given to the Arabs by the Allies in the course of the war of 1914—18 have not been duly fulfilled. If we persist in merely venting our wrath by calling these people names, those who hold them in esteem would only be angered thereby. When a man accuses another of dishonest motives, but you know from your own personal experience that he is not dishonest, then even though you may not hold with him in a certain course of action, you are likely from exasperation to get out of sympathy with those who continue to attribute dishonest motives to him. Should this kind of exasperation continue long enough you may even be liable to begin actively to sympathise with the man in a course which originally you did not approve of. Therefore, in order to safeguard from this possible but dangerous reaction the thousands and thousands of Muslims all over the world who think well of Sheikh Rashid Ali and the Mufti of Jerusalem and hold them in esteem, we should take care to keep our feelings in control. In all that we might say we should be actuated only by a desire to see the situation righted: we should not let our feelings over the immensity of the issues at stake betray us into mere expression of anger in terms of abuse.

We should remember that all that is necessary for us to realise in connection with this rising is that this move on the part of Sheikh Rashid Ali and his friends has put into grave jeopardy the tranquillity and peace of the sacred places of Islam. We have no need to impute low and unworthy motives to the leaders of this revolt. We have neither the right to do so, nor can any good be expected from it. In this crisis the Muslims everywhere should unite in working for the speedy restoration of peace in Iraq, and this end can only be achieved by the Muslims rallying round to support Britain in the task of checking

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the trouble before it has had time to spread. This is the only way to keep the flames of war at a distance from Mecca and Medina, from Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan.

This is no time for indulging in controversies or recriminations: it is time for quick action. Every Muslim should, without loss of time, warn his neighbours of the danger that hangs over Muslim lands so that all should make ready to do their duty, and to make every possible sacrifice for the common cause. Those who are fit for active service should offer themselves for recruitment; those who are rich should offer money; writers and speakers should contribute to the war effort in those important spheres, and those who are not in a position to do any of these things should bow down in prayer that God may be pleased to safeguard the peace and welfare of the Muslim lands, and to open the eyes of our misguided brothers so that they may themselves strive to undo the harm of which unfortunately they have been the cause.

In my opinion the trouble in Iraq has come not only as the sharp cut of a whip to rouse the Muslims alone to an adequate sense of the danger, but it is a cause for grave anxiety to all Indians in general, irrespective of class or creed, for this trouble has brought the war near to India. This country now is no more as safe as it was before. An army holding Iraq in its grip could easily march straight to India either through Arabia or Iran. Therefore, in the face of this peril the people of India should rise superior to the animosities of their internal quarrels and unite in helping Britain to guard the country, as by doing so they would only be helping themselves.

Perhaps Sheikh Rashid Ali and his supporters think that during the war of 1914—18 the Arabs were assured that on the conclusion of the war they would be helped in the task of creating an independent Arab State, but what actually took place was that Arab lands were parcelled out into four or five divisions; that Britain no doubt had given a measure of independence

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to Iraq, but the rest of the Arabs too had in no way been behind in point of sacrifices for the Allied cause. Should Britain undertake for the future to give independence to other Arab countries as well, then I am sure the Muslim world would strive as one man to keep their lands clear of war. The indirect gain therefrom to the British Empire, I venture to think, would not be insignificant.

At the end of this war the question should be settled not only of the independence of Czekoslovakia and Poland, but of the Arab lands as well. Justice demands it: and I am sure that by honouring this requirement of justice Britain would become far mightier than before.

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FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER

[Talk broadcast on the All-India Radio by Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, Law Member, Government of India.—*Ed.*]

In every direction there is growing a strong feeling that after the present war the foundations of a new order ought to be laid. The Axis Powers claim that they are struggling merely to lay the foundations of that new order and so also the democracies are proclaiming that after the war they intend to lay the foundations of a new world. The question is why is the need being felt for changing the present order of things. Was the present order imposed upon the world by some external Power so that people are anxious to get rid of it? Or is it felt that in a fit of forgetfulness mankind has been led away from its original safe and sure path and has started treading upon a path which leads to confusion and disorder, so that, having realised its mistake, it now desires to retrace its steps? Or again, is it that the ideals which the people of this age had set up for themselves now appear undesirable in their eyes, and they are, therefore, anxious to set up and enter upon the pursuit of new ideals?

So far as intellectual and material progress is concerned, the world to-day is very much in advance of the world of two or three centuries ago. Knowledge has increased, industries and handicrafts have flourished, commerce has expanded and new inventions are being ushered daily into the world on an ever-increasing scale. A good deal is being done towards the alleviation of poverty and distress, and the manipulation and exploitation of the secret powers and treasures of the earth is growing daily. In short, so far as the sources of wealth, its production and distribution are concerned, man to-day is in a very much better position than he was two centuries or even a century ago.

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Then why this yearning for a change in the world order? Let us look at the Axis Powers themselves. Is Germany to-day behind the Germany of the last century in matters of knowledge, freedom, wealth and power? Or does Italy of to-day compare unfavourably with regard to these things with the Italy of the 19th century? Or is Japan of to-day lacking in respect of these matters to any extent as compared with Japan of the last century? The answer will undoubtedly be an emphatic no!

Even a superficial comparison of conditions in these countries to-day with the conditions prevailing in them during the last century will demonstrate that in the matters that I have mentioned they have taken immense strides.

Why War?

The question then is why all this restlessness and uneasiness, which has prompted these countries to enter upon a life and death struggle with their neighbours? The claims which these countries make with regard to their internal conditions indicate that the object of this struggle is not to improve their internal conditions. All this restlessness is not due to any impatience over, and dissatisfaction with their own internal conditions in the past. It is due to the jealousy engendered by watching the globe-girding activities of some of the other nations. Their real grievance is not, as they sometimes put out, that they are being denied *lebensraum*; their real grievance is that they have not available to them the same facilities and opportunities for ruling over and exploiting other nations as are available to some of their sister nations.

Had it been a question merely of *lebensraum*, these nations would not have been so desperately anxious, as they are, to increase their national birth rate. Nations that are denied living room may not take active steps to reduce the national birth rate, but they would certainly not adopt unusual and extraordinary measures to promote it. Here the case is

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otherwise. Germany and Italy have for a number of years adopted and Japan has started the adoption of special measures to increase the national birth rate. These efforts indicate that the real trouble with these countries is not that they have not enough living room but that they too, like some other nations, are anxious to obtain political and economic dominance over certain weaker nations.

It would be impossible to strip these nations, who have awakened to a consciousness of power, coupled with a sense of restriction in the matter of exploitation, of desire to upset the present order of things by the use of force. By the use of superior force, it may be possible to suppress for a time the expression of this desire by these nations, but the mere use of force would not eradicate it. It had been imagined after the last Great War that the possibilities of a fresh conflict among the European nations had been ruled out for a long time. Events have furnished proof to the contrary. The present position is the direct result of the intellectual ferment, the upsurging of political and economic ambitions and the permeation of the minds of men and nations by ideas of force and violence which have continued unchecked during the last quarter of a century.

Exploitation

So long as these powerful nations are faced with the spectacle or other powerful nations carrying on political and economic exploitation of weaker nations for their own benefit, it is useless to expect them to reconcile themselves easily to their own position of comparative privation in these matters or to try to restrain them from following the example of their more fortunate neighbours.

The construction, therefore, of a new world different from the old, exhibiting scenes of peace, quiet and plenty on a universal scale, is not possible through merely material changes. To bring this about, it is not a reform of laws and constitutions that is nedeed, but a reform and change of men's minds. This change

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will be brought about not so much by the overhauling of treaties and covenants, but by a revolution in the moral field. Nations begin to deteriorate when they begin to regard themselves outside the pale of moral obligations, whereas the truth is that the moral responsibilities and obligations of nations ought to be as binding as those of individuals. Greed, cupidity, transgression and falsehood are as undesirable in the case of nations as they are harmful in the case of individuals.

For an individual who desires to develop his own moral qualities and to become a useful member of society, it is necessary that he should not look down upon his weaker brethren and should help and cooperate in procuring the means of progress for them. The same is necessary in the case of nations and Governments and so long as nations and Governments are not prepared to accept these principles, peace will never be firmly established on earth and the new world, after which the hearts of men are yearning, will never come into being.

Real Cause

What is the real cause of the present conflict? Is the real cause not this that certain nations are not prepared to content themselves with the means of progress which are available to them inside their own countries and are anxious to subjugate and exploit peoples and countries beyond their own borders? For this ill, is there any remedy other than a change of heart and a reform of national morality? The evil may be scotched by force but it is bound to break out again in some form or other a few years later, with possible changes in the permutations and combinations of aggressors and their victims. On the other hand, if the principle were to be accepted that all nations shall be ruled by moral principles in the same manner as individuals are expected to be ruled and guided by them, then surely it may be hoped that the desire for conquest and exploitation would be barred not only from the minds of one but from the minds of all

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nations and not only for a few years but for a long period.

The Holy Book, among the followers of which I am proud to count myself, lays down admirable principles for the regulation of these matters. It says: "Let no nation look with envy upon material blessings with which we have endowed other nations; these are but the embellishments of the earthly life and we have created them and have distributed them in certain proportions among various nations in order to enable each to develop its national talents to perfection. Whatever we have bestowed upon a nation is best suited to its conditions and is likely to prove lasting."

That is to say, Providence has provided for each nation and each people different means for the development of its national talents which are best suited to its needs and it is, therefore, wholly unnecessary for one nation to exploit another nation.

Again, the same Holy Book says: "Do not act like the woman who after she has spun a quantity of yarn, proceeds to cut it into small pieces and thus deprives herself of the fruits of her labour and even destroys her capital. This is the parable of those nations who enter into treaties and covenants with each other, ostensibly to promote peace and prosperity in the world, but proceeds to make these treaties and covenants an excuse for the exploitation of and political dominance over other nations, which results in hatred and enmity and, though one nation may thereby gain and the other be reduced in strength, such covenants and treaties do not result in international amity and concord, which is the true object of international covenants, but on the contrary destroy the chances of such amity and concord, as the yarn which has been cut up into small pieces cannot be utilised either for the purpose of being woven into cloth or for the purpose of binding anything together."

Mutual Help

The holy Quran, therefore, teaches that if international peace and concord is desired, such treaties

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and covenants should be abjured altogether and that the true object of all international covenants should be to bind nations closer together and to help and support the weaker nations rather than exploit them and make them weaker still.

If these two golden principles are followed in the international sphere, world peace will become secure and the foundations of an order will be laid which will help to create a new world free from conflicts and disorders and full of peace and concord.

A new world cannot, however, be created merely by political reform and a tinkering with our present institutions. Any such hope is doomed to disappointment from the start and all such efforts are bound to go to waste. If internatioual disorder is put down to-day, it will raise its head again tomorrow. The foundations on a new order can be laid only on the basis of high moral qualities in the international field and can only be laid when it is fully recognised that nations and Governments must accept the rule of morality and must once for all give up all attempts to dominate and exploit weaker nations, however attractive the names and titles under which these attempts might be disguised. Once all nations have freely accepted this principle, and those who have in the past transgressed against it are prepared to make reparation, then may surely be a new order established in the world which will be both peaceful and permanent and within which nations, small and great, weak and strong, may be able to live peacefully together.

Further, it is necessary that suitable means should be devised to put an end to the greed and cupidity which are destroying the peace of the world. It is only by the adoption of such means that the hearts of men can be brought to that state of purity and contentment which alone can ensure the success of the new order. These means are as follows :

No Interest

First, the system of interest-bearing loans must be banished both from private dealings and commer-

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cial, national and international spheres. This system has been a direct incentive to greed and cupidity. Once individuals and nations fall victims to this evil, it is impossible to set any limits to it and this evil is a potent source of aggression. It also results in the accumulation of a nation's wealth in the hands of a few individuals, families and corporations, with the result that on the one hand very large sections of the nation's population are condemned to poverty and misery, and on the other, when the interest devouring people find the means of further exploitation within their own nation restricted they secure control over their Goverments and employ the power thus gained towards the exploitation of other nations and thus sow the seeds of international disorder and war.

In my opinion, it was one of the darkest days in human history when a distinction was drawn between different kinds of interest and it was declared that usury, which is levied as a tax upon human want and distress, is an evil and that commercial interest is not only permissible but desirable, whereas the truth is that both these kinds of interest are undesirable and are a curse. Usury is a curse for individuals and commercial interest is a curse for nations and Governments.

Most modern wars have resulted from the operation of this system as this system has made war the pastime of capitalists and financiers. Thirteen and a half centuries ago, Islam condemned specifically both these varieties of interest, that which may be recovered from the poor equally with that which may be recovered from loans advanced to commerce and industry. Indeed, the holy Quran went further and declared that interets is bound to lead to war and we must recognise that the truth of this has to-day been demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt.

I must point out, however, that Islam does not seek to restrict commercial and industrial activity; on the other hand, it lays down principles for the regulation of commercial undertakings and partnerships,

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which are designed to secure the maximum individual and national advantage to be derived from these activities while safeguarding against the dangers to which an economy based upon interest is bound to give rise.

Secondly, steps must be taken to discourage the hoarding of money and capital. This tendency also results in the monopolisation of wealth and power and enables a few individuals, who may themselves be lacking in personal merit, to dominate nations and Governments. The only way of checking this tendency is for the Government to impose a levy upon all accumulated cash and capital resources, which would on the one hand discourage hoarding so that capital is not uselessly locked up for the purpose merely of bolstering up the power and prestige of a few individuals, and on the other would enable the proceeds of the levy to be devoted towards the alleviation of poverty and distress and the fostering and encouragement of beneficent talent, thus contributing to the strengthening and enriching of the whole nation.

Primogeniture

Thirdly, the law of primogeniture, which is operative in certain countries, results in the accumulation of certain kinds of property within the hands of a few individuals and invests them with undue power and influence quite disproportionate to their personal merits. This fosters a sense of false prestige and enables a few individuals, generation after generation to continue in a position of domination over their fellow citizens. This and all other laws that seek to restrict succession within a limited circle ought to be abolished altogether so that wealth and power should cease to be the monopoly of a few individuals. The law of succession and inheritance must provide for the distribution of property among all the descendants, male as well as female, and other near relations of a deceased person. The effect of this system would be that privileges based upon family would disappear altogether and a continuous process of levelling up

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would be started under which merit will become the principal means and criterion of advancement. Under this system means would be provided for a much larger number of individuals to cultivate their natural talents.

Fourthly, the equality of human beings must be fully recognised and no privilege or superiority must be deemed to attach to any race or nation. A sense of racial or national superiority has in the past led to racial and national arrogance, which has resulted in the exploitation of one race by another and of one nation by another and has led to the perpetuation of the dominance of certain races and nations over other races and nations, which again is one of the principal causes of international disorder and war.

Fifthly, every Government must accept the obligation to provide the minimum necessaries in the way of food, clothing, shelter and education for every citizen so that thousands of souls possessing the highest capabilities and talents, who at present pass through life unrecognised and unvalued like the flowers that bloom, in inaccessible mountain valleys, may be provided with opportunities for the development of their capacities and talents and humanity as a consequence should be all the richer. This would also result in breaking the monopoly of a few individuals and families in spheres of administration, power and prestige.

Sixthly, commerce based upon cash and exchange transactions should be discouraged and the system of barter should be encouraged as far as possible so that wealthy nations do not drain away the resources of weaker and poorer nations.

If these six principles are accepted and put into operation, it may be hoped that as a result the human mind might be freed from greed and cupidity and nations might be enabled to live together in peace, amity and concord.

As, however, in spite of the adoption of beneficent principles chances of transgression cannot unfortunately

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be eliminated altogether, a further safeguard would be necessary to provide security and permanence for the new order and this safeguard is that all Governments and nations should abjure the present policy of each for himself and should all join in a covenant that, even in the case of the weakest and most distant of them being made the victim of aggression, all the others would first try to bring about a settlement by peaceful means, and that, failing this, they would all combine and utilise the whole of their military strength to put an end to the aggression. So long as all Governments or at least a very large majority of them are unwilling to accept such an obligation, aggression will not be ruled out. If at the time of the invasion of Manchuria, and later on the occasion of the invasion of Abyssinia, the civilised Governments of the world had recognised and discharged their responsibility, the present conflict would certainly have been avoided and peace could have been secured for a long period of time with an expenditure in men, money and material which would have been only a fraction of the loss which the nations of the world are bound to suffer during the course of the present war.

Without adopting these principles, the idea of a new world in which peace should be secure is no more than a dreamer's fantasy. The only true means of ushering in the new world, however, which comprise all these principles that I have mentioned and their details, is for all mankind to bow down before the all-powerful and all-intelligent Creator and to pray to Him in all humility, sincerity and earnestness: "Oh lord of mercy and of grace! Thou didst provide for Thy creatures in abundance all the means of comfort and happiness, but we have failed to put them to their proper uses and to derive benefit from them and have converted these means into instruments of pain and destruction. Do Thou now look upon us with mercy for we are sick of that which our own hands have encompassed and we turn to Thee alone. We declare truly that Thou and Thou alone art the only true God. We abjure everything else that we in the ignorance of

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our hearts have sought to put in Thy place. Thou cover us with Thy mercy and Thy grace and make the earth a place of peace and comfort and happiness for us and do Thou thyself lay the foundations of the new order which should make all our troubles and tribulations pass away and if it be that Thou hast of Thy mercy already laid the foundations of this new order do Thou open our eyes to its light so that we may recognise it and accept it and make it the rule of our lives. Amen."—*C. & M. Gazette.*

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

The Raja of Mahmudabad's recent address to the Bangalore Muslim Students when he stressed the establishment of the Islamic ideal of Democracy in the Pakistan-to-be came as a refreshing contrast to the exposition of the League's five year plan based on the "four pillars" of educational, economic, social, and political reform as outlined by Mr. Jinnah in his Madras address. The former to some extent expressed *inter alia* that in the proposed regime of Pakistan the Muslims intended to revive their culture which was the outcome of their religion, but the latter was conspicuously silent on the point.

To a close observer of current Indian political trends it would, however, appear extremely doubtful that the Muslim League really wants to establish in Pakistan a rule based on the Islamic ideals of government. Take for that matter the Punjab Muslims. There is nothing at present to prevent them from obtaining legislation to the effect that in regard to the Muslim Women's right to inherit property the Islamic law of inheritance shall obtain in their province too as it does in other Indian provinces. But the Punjab Muslims evidently prefer to disregard the injunctions of the Islamic law on the subject, and under the customary law by which they are governed Muslim women in the Punjab have no right of inheritance to landed property. When the Muslims of the present autonomous Punjab deliberately choose to ignore the Islamic law on this point, what justification is there for assuming that in the proposed Pakistan they would change their mind ?

Bengal is an other proposed zone in Pakistan. The newspaper-reading public, though of a proverbially short memory, cannot have forgotten that some time ago when the Bengal Whipping Act was under the hammer of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Muslim

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members were the loudest in opposition to it. And this they did in spite of the knowledge that the Islamic law provides whipping as a punishment in the type of cases contemplated in the Whipping Act of Bengal. Where is the assurance then that these same Muslims would begin to long for a revival of their religion and culture when they change over from the present autonomous Bengal to a self-governing province of the proposed Pakistan ?

Such instances can be easily multiplied; and they go a long way to show that in their Pakistan, if it can be achieved, even the Muslims themselves do not intend to establish a rule based on the true Islamic ideals. Where is the need for Pakistan, then, and why has Pakistan taken such a strong hold on the fancy of the Muslim Community even though uptil now it is nothing more than a mere idea on the practical implications of which the League leader, Mr. Jinnah himself, is not very clear ?

The answer to this question is not very far to seek. It is because the Muslims, at any rate the majority of them, have lost faith in the vitality of their religion and culture. They have begun to fear that, unless protected by the strong hand of a state, their religion and culture have not the power to stand up to the vicissitudes of time—that neither can survive without support from a government anxious to keep them alive. They find the vitals of their cultural life disintegrating before their very eyes, for they themselves have ceased to be moved by the desire to live up to what they profess. It is ridiculous to suggest that they will begin to live as better Muslims from the very moment they have a government of their own. For, their co-religionists in other countries, who have the fullest liberty to apply the Islamic law to themselves, are instead imbibing the un-Islamic European culture.

However, the Indian Muslims, though they find themselves helpless against the onslaught of the West, do at times wish to save their culture from disintegration, and this wish has fathered the idea of Pakistan.

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But it is unfortunate that they do not appear to have given adequate thought to the question as to whether or not the end in view can be achieved by the means sought to be employed. One might venture to suggest that the goal Indian Muslims have in view cannot be achieved by these means, for cultures live and thrive on their own vitality or die owing to the lack thereof. Artificial props do not count for anything much.

The fact, however, remains that Pakistan has taken hold of the Muslim fancy not as a threat to the Congress but as a goal to be achieved with a view to affording some amount of protection to their culture. Those who are familiar with the philosophy of the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal in this connection, and also know that he was one of the earliest protagonists of Pakistan —rather its originator, if our memory does not fail— will bear testimony to the truth of the above analysis.

But it cannot be denied that the immediate impetus to the demand for Pakistan was afforded by the Congress treatment of the Muslim minorities in those provinces where the Congress ruled for two years and a half. In modern times many things do not come to light through a Press guided by party considerations. They are nevertheless, realities as hard as any. The stampede for power, the desire to come by it through any means, fair or foul, corruption, jobbery, and a host of similar national calamities that followed the Congress rise to power in the provinces, may not have been taken official notice of or paraded on the platforms. But they stand out in bold relief before the eyes of those who came into contact with the actual conditions as then existed in the Congress provinces. And herein lies the reason of the present impasse between the League and the Congress.

To a practically minded person, however, the attitude and the demand of the League do not appear to solve the problem of the minorities in those provinces where the Hindus are in a majority. A better method for the League, in the eye of those who still believe in the spirit of the religion of Muhammad as a

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living force, and believe in full liberty for the individual to change his religion should he feel the urge would have been to demand as a right freedom of speech and liberty to preach Islam to the masses, and to enter upon a 10-year programme of gathering together the whole of Hindu India within the fold of Islam, *thereby creating a Muslim majority in the whole of India instead of penning down that majority in two or three isolated zones.*

A difficult task, no doubt. But the fruits of this gigantic effort would be equally glorious, and those who profess to follow Iqbal should not shrink back in dismay at the difficulties of the course he seems to chalk out for them in the following words :

در دشت جنون من جبریل زبون صیدے
یزداں بکمند آور اے همت مردانه

Will the League take up courage, and take in hand one district after another, one province after another for this noble work, and demonstrate to the world that neither have the Muslims lost faith in their religion and culture, nor has their priceless heritage lost its original spirit and power ?

An answer worthy of this great " representative " organisation of the Muslims of India is awaited.

Laheria Sarai
(Behar)

" ZULFAQAR ".

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MISSION NEWS

[The following fragments of news concerning Ahmady missionary activity, taken at random, would give our readers an idea of the broad field it covers.—*Ed.*]

Western Bengal Ahmadiyya Conference was held at Bharatpur, District Murshidabad, on the 10th and 11th May, 1941. Khan Sahib Maulvi Mubarak Ali, B.A., B.T., retired Head Master Bogra Zilla School and Ameer of the Bengal Provincial Ahmadiyya Association, presided. Members of the Community from Calcutta, Dacca, Bogra and Krishnagore and various villages in the neighbourhood of Bharatpur, besides local gentry, both Hindu and Muslim, attended the conference in large numbers.

Maulana Zillur Rahman, Ahmadi Missionary, Chaudhury Muzaffar-ud-Din, B.A., Ahmadi Missionary and General Secretary B.P.A.A., Mauvli Mohammad Abdul Hafiz, Khondkar Hafiz Tayyabullah, Maulvi Daulat Ahmed Khan Khadim, B.L., and Maulvi Mohammad Sayed, Ahmadi Missionary, addressed the gathering on the various problems facing the community and the world at large.

Chaudhury Muzaffar-ud-Din in the course of his lecture suggested *inter alia* that for the establishment of communal peace and harmony both the Hindus and the Muslims should deprecate the Hindu and Muslim rioters and newspapers, both in private and in public, and should inculcate in the minds of the masses mutual respect for and toleration towards religious founders, religious books and religious places. The President in the course of a stirring address referred to the rapid march of world events and said that the time had come when the world would very soon realise that the greatest event of the age was the advent of Hazrat Ahmad (Peace and blessings of Allah be on him) the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement which alone could serve the purpose of the " Arc of Noah " in the coming deluge; and he asked the Ahmadies to prepare themselves for the great part they were destined to play in the evolution of a new and better world order.

The Conference which terminated at 6-30 P.M., on May 11 was a great success.

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Hindus Celebrate the Prophet Day at Karachi

The Prophet Day was celebrated with due grandeur by the Hindus of Karachi at the local Rama Krishna Mission on 6th April last, Swami Jugadisworanand, President of the Sind Branch of the R. K. Mission presiding. There was a large and preponderating gathering of Hindus including some educated Muslims. Mr. Parsram V. Tahilramani, President, Sind Congress Committee speaking in Hindi remarked that the doctrine of the brotherhood of man was the special merit and message of the Prophet. Mr. K. Punniah, Editor *Sind Observer*, Karachi, speaking in English, pointed out the simplicity of the great religion of Islam and observed that if Islam had spread so widely in the world it was specially due to the directness and naturalness of the appeal which the founder brought to bear upon religion. Professor Ram Rajwani of D. J. Sind College, Karachi, speaking in Sindhi, observed that the prevailing gulf between religion and science could be bridged if the world understood and lived the principles of Islam. Swami Jagadisworanand, in conclusion, emphasised that Hazrat Mohamed was not only the Prophet of the Muslims but also the Prophet of the Hindus, and that there was an underlying unity between Islam and Hinduism. The function terminated late at night.

Lecture at Lyallpur

On may 27, Giani Wahid Husain spoke in the Hall of the Layallpur Khalsa College on "Khalsa-Muslim Unity." The famous Sikh Leader Sardar Sardul Singh was in the chair. The central idea stressed by the speaker was that the Holy Quran and the Guru Granth Sahib were united in up-holding the unity of God and this circumstance should serve as a strong foundation for Sikh-Muslim unity. The speaker made a deep impression upon the audience which may be judged from the fact that the Sikh friends took great delight in showing hospitality to the lecturer and the members of his party.

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